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TR is also applied to the ancestors of antiquity, the first arrivals, the places which they settled in those times and which today are already familiarized. In this case its meaning is, of course, limited, for there is only one, namely, the Supreme Being, who is properly and truly the very ancient one. BD:632 also gives the word wétauinaiwa, "the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness" /cited in English/. Bridges here gives the basic meaning. The accompanying explanation confirms the occasional use to which this word is put in referring to ancestors. "This term was used specially of
• [D1] the Rainbow which coming ever and anon was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heaven of old time" /cited in English/. In connection with this the Yamana form the word Wataynéiwa-séf, "the very ancient one in heaven." BD:379 gives shí instead of séf, "the (blue) sky" /cited in English/, also Wataynéiwa-sipáku, "the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength." In BD:10 one finds sipáku, "immense, huge, very large" /cited in English/. Tánuwa has the same meaning, according to BD:421, "(My) father, my old man (fam.)" /cited in English/, which is something like /in German/ "mein lieber, guter Alter."

The Yamana no less frequently use Hidéiwan or Hitapéan
[D1] as "my father" and Hálu ímun, "my father" or, by shifting the possessive prefix hi, also hajanálmin ímun, "our father." Occasionally Hálun hálu, "my grandfather" and Kalajáipa, "dear little old father," are also used.

The following names are also to be interpreted in such a way that their unique meaning, applied to the deity, is raised to the highest degree of intensity. Abajílkin, "the strong, the mighty." BD:14 gives abíjla, "strong, physically strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The combination hájm hálu Abajílkin stands for a particularly great intensification. The first two words can also be repeated, which gives the greatest possible emphasis. This construction, however, is used exclusively for Wataynéiwa. According to BD:261 hájm means "in a great degree, very exceedingly" /cited in English/. The Yamana also use the construction Abíjla-Wataynéiwa and Abíjla-séf.

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776 761 626 He proceeds ruthlessly; he does not desist even in the face of the weakest age or the keenest grief and greatest sorrow of a mother. He is truly a Tumbuf Abbaaka, and the more helpless the poor human being feels, the more passionately he moves against him.

In his weakness the Fungian is at the mercy of that Abbiikin, that bikin bilo Abbiikin, the unlimited mighty one who punishes when and however it pleases him, heedless of the pain and woe of human beings. He alone is lord over the life and death of all. He grants life and therewith the child enters independent existence. He lets everyone have life as long as it pleases him. He takes it away and man dies. By way of punishment he sends a serious illness, he likewise a person from it, but only occasionally. He causes dying "of his own free will, and no influence by natural forces or magic power is capable of prevailing upon him. The dying one resigns himself to the progress of a serious illness without much complaining about his fate. The relatives and friends also yield submissively; they say: "Wataginiiwa is much mightier than we, no one can stand up against him. He will carry this one off, we must let it happen, we can only weep!" (Gaminde [L] 161.)

[83] In the same manner he bestows good and bad weather. If he wants to chastise someone, he has him tormented by storm and rain; if he favors someone, he will let him be accompanied by sunshine. 776 626 He brings success in hunting to the men and success in gathering to the women, but sometimes he also arranges that they both come back empty-handed. In the final analysis, he is the author of every bad and fatal accident. A person who is dealt a severe blow regards it as a personal punishment; whether he is uncomplainingly silent or noisily abusive, he must accept it as one who is utterly defenseless. The threats with which our Indians try to ease their oppressed hearts do not touch that Abbiikin in the least. He does not use physical force, but operates merely by willing something. The Yamana express themselves as follows. For example, a girl was admonished in the Fuegan: "Begin your day's work early in the morning. Wataginiiwa sees every lazybones. Wataginiiwa will [as punishment] make you die soon [i.e., prematurely] if you are a lazy lie-abed!" They also say: "He will look at you, then it will soon be all over with you!" Sometimes they also warn: "The one up there is looking at you!" This means: He has designs on you, he has long intended to punish

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SM much more than others. The difference between one storyteller and another lies in the manner of portrayal, the choice of words, the heartfelt participation in the content of the story. It is, of course, inevitable that now and then some good old soul will relive a long chapter out of his life or report an experience to the assembled neighbors although he has almost no gift for story-telling and is more boring than entertaining. We Europeans call it a sign of senility when some old man tells something for the hundredth time that everyone knows by heart or exaggerates the importance of minor details for which others cannot work up any interest. Just such things happen among our Fuegians and are no less correctly judged by younger persons than they are among us, but their extreme veneration of old people obliges them to listen attentively and to bear it steadfastly, no matter how much self-control they are obliged to exert. There are specific admonitions to the young along these lines, and everyone observes this obligation.

SM The general remarks that I have set down here are for the most part applicable almost literally to the practices and traditions prevailing among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 368).

I personally recall with great pleasure and satisfaction many a gay gathering on one evening or another when I joined the Fuegians in a smoke-filled hut. The faintly flickering fire would blaze up now and then and show the attentiveness written on the faces of all present. Enthusiastically we listened to the animated words of the storyteller, completely lost in the kingdom of myth, unmindful of the storm that was vigorously shaking the loose parts of the little hut, heedless of /114ii/ the hour far beyond midnight. When finally the company broke up, everyone crept out of the storyteller's hut refreshed and enriched with new thoughts and was swallowed up by the night. If stars happened to be shining down from heaven, a knowing old man would insist on pointing his finger at this or that star, repeating its name, and characterizing its personality. Their brilliance illuminated the short distance to each Yamana's hut, and in his dreams the figures from the world of legend would stand before his paltry bed. Now and then a day ends in this way, which makes every Fuegian happy.

/1145 cont./

113 only for being the first to settle in this region, but also for many
a special achievement which has become significant and e ecisive
for the actual human beings who followed. The Saltkarn (Vol.
I, 208) make a similar distinction and definite separation f the
two very different groups.

B. The Older Sun-Gian

113 On Fowgians make a very definite distinction betwe- en the
BH once mighty and violent Tårowalkin, the old sun-man, an d his
son Ulkn, the son of the day. Both, so the story goes, ca e to
this country long ago together with their large company of first
settlers. These two personalities differ from one another i n many
respects. The following story is told about the old sun-ma n,
Tårowalkin or Tårwalkin.

"At that time among the families who first arrived h ere,
there lived a man who had a very bad character. He was not only
unfriendly toward everyone, but quite openly hostile, and his
one thought was always to hurt everybody else. Everyone de-
spised him. As a result, he became even more furious and tried
even harder to inflict harm on everybody. He was extraordinarily
powerful and had great power at his disposal. Once in h
indignation he had everything burned up that lay within his d omain.
At that time he was much closer to the earth than he is to day.
At the same time he caused all the water of the sea to bo l, for
he permitted a great heat wave to descend and all the fou sts
burned up. After that the mountain tops were empty and bare
and have remained so to this very day. All this happened be-
cause in his supreme anger he sent the great heat.

"From the start Tårowalkin was very repulsive to eve ery-
body, but after that /1146/ they obviously hated him. Th ey not
only hated and abhorred him, but all his nearest relatives as well.
His whole family was avoided and despised by all the peop ple, for
every member of that family behaved unkindly and was be nt on
hurting other people. Only Ulkn, son of old Tårowalkin, was a
a conspicuous exception. He proved to be extremely bene evolent
toward all the rest of the people. He was an excellent hu nter and

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was skilled in many things. He was kind toward everyone and always ready to help.

"The women (71) then deliberated a long time in secret.

> 71. One must realize that at that time the women were said to rule the men and that everywhere they alone laid down the law. That is why they alone gathered for consultations and reached decisions which were binding for everyone, especially for the men. For the present compare Gusinde (bib): 337.

Finally they decided to murder malevolent old Tăruwalĕm. One day they made a surprise attack on him and tried to strangle him. Since he was very strong, however, he succeeded in extricating himself. He immediately hastened up to the canopy of heaven where he stands to this day as a bright star, but he forfeited his former power. Today one no longer sees him. It was not until after the great upheaval at the kĭna of the women that Lĕm also climbed up to the canopy of heaven to join his father Tăruwalĕm.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that he has lost his former power, that he is probably standing somewhere in the heavens but that he is invisible. He is also mentioned in another connection. The Yamana tell the following. "A long time ago all the kĕ̆pif of the [at that time so-called] human beings who died here went far away to Šamaxăni (72). There these kĕ̆pif

> 72. The Yamana use this designation for a far distant region which they are unable to describe more specifically.

formed a people of their own. All of them, young and old, enjoyed the game of ball, kflaka. Once mighty Tăruwalĕm quite suddenly appeared in the east and set fire to the whole region. After a time he tried to take away the great heat, but he did not succeed. That is why the kĕ̆pif left that region. Afterward, when Tăruwalĕm himself also left that region, it did cool off.

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At that same time the whole world burned up, and afterward everything cooled off again."

I find it impossible to link this brief story meaningfully with the other events of that first period, chiefly because it mentions the souls which were supposed to have assembled after death. Aside from that, however, old Tăruwalĕm is clearly depicted as having once been an extremely mighty sun whose strength surpassed by far that of the actual day star. The Yamana point out that Lĕm could not set fire to the whole earth in the way that his father did. They do not mention any other connections between these two personalities.

/1147/ γ. The Younger Sun-Man

The relationship between old Tăruwalĕm and Lĕm is that of father and son. In contrast to the father, the son is described as very benevolent and friendly toward human beings. This is tangibly expressed in the beneficial warmth that the day star provides. The Yamana have more to say about Lĕm (73).

> 73. A first modest reference is found in Despard (b):698: "The Firelander supposes the sun and moon, male and female, to be very old indeed, and that some old man, who knew their maker, had died without leaving information upon this subject. Hence the ignorance of the present generation" /cited in English/.

"Lĕm was an excellent man and had great influence upon all men. They willingly yielded to him, for he was friendly and benevolent toward everyone. He was so handsome and had such a fine figure that all the women wanted to stare at him constantly. But they all guarded against revealing this desire or even looking at him with open eyes, so that they would not be ridiculed by others. Lĕm was quite charming. All the women were in love with him, and all the men regarded him highly.

/1147 cont./

"His wife was also very beautiful. No one knows her name. Lēm had several beautiful daughters, namely, tákaša (Larus belcheri), wémar-kipa (Larus glaucodes), the sea duck wíyen (Anas cristata), the gull kíwágu (Larus dominicanus), the Magellanic goose kímoa (Chloephaga picta /upland goose/), the duck wípatux (Querquedula cyanoptera), as well as the she-fox čílawájakipa (Canis magellanicus) and the rat wēsána. The last two secretly dragged off the meat that their father brought home from the hunt; they stole it from him regularly. They are doing it [stealing] to this day. Lēm also had other daughters, as well as several sons. One of them is Yēxalēm who constantly follows his father.

Lēm was diligent and hard-working, good and always merry, friendly toward everyone. He was on the best of terms with all the men. He set a fine example of an active, good-natured human being for everyone. In this respect [that is, in his whole character] nothing has changed to this day. Back in the time of the great upheaval in Yájaašága he helped the men considerably in gaining control of the kína of the women. After that upheaval was over, he went up to the canopy of heaven. From there he is still proving himself benevolent and willing to help human beings; he bestows ample warmth and light upon everyone. All men are obviously proud of him, for he uncovered the kína secret of the women and thus freed the men from their dependence upon the women.

"Actually there is still another world. That is why Lēm leaves the region of the Yamana every evening and betakes himself there. In that other world he also shines and bestows abundant warmth. The next morning he comes back to us once more. In this way he helps the people both here and there."

The portrayal as such shows clearly enough how gratefully /1148/ the Yamana regard the day star. Obviously this favorable attitude goes back to the feeling of well-being which sunshine induces in the Yamana, who are often shaken by frosty winds and severe weather. The planet Venus was pointed out to me as Yēxalēm, son of Lēm, for "this son invariably follows close behind his father, but is not as strong as the latter." This refers to the considerably weaker luminosity of Venus as compared to the

/1148 cont./

773 821 day star. Concerning "that other world" for which Lēm also kindly shines, the Yamana are referring quite generally to the territory of those peoples whom they assume live beyond their own territory. In more recent times they are thinking especially of the Whites whose home, as they are constantly assured, is far away from the Fuegian archipelago (74).

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74. There are a number of points of similarity between this description and the Selk'nam story of the old sun-man and his son, the day star. The only special point to be noted is that the latter was also decisively active in revealing the Kloketen secret of the women (Vol. I, 600).

δ. The Rainbow

821 With weather conditions as they are in the Cape Horn region, the rainbow is anything but a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it always delights our Yamana. One can clearly see that they love to look at it and that it gives them a great deal of satisfaction. They are refreshed and gratified by its radiant colors. On many occasions I observed how adults and children, even in pouring rain, crawled out of their hut, stood outside, and, wide-eyed, enjoyed the intense glow of the rainbow (75).

75. Cojazzi:105 writes: "The rainbow is regarded as the harbinger of the wrath above [of the malignant god], and the women and girls shudder at the sight of it, but the men curse it and spit at it" /translated from Italian/. This report is altogether erroneous and contrary to my own observations.

773 821 At the same time I was told in a wholly matter-of-fact tone: "This Akáinix is the brother of Lēm and likewise an imposing, very handsome man. How could it be otherwise, since both belong to the same family. Of all men Akáinix knew how to paint himself best; even today he shows himself in unattainably

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brilliant colors. Beautiful Hānuxa is his wife."

The combination Akā́inix wā́tuwa is her complete name, little used in everyday speech. BD:265 writes hannūka, but also gives hannūkaiāgū, "moonlight" /cited in English/. This is the story of the rainbow.

"Old Akā́inix was a magnificent figure. He knew how to paint himself much more beautifully than all the other men, for he belonged to a privileged family. The imposing Lēm is his brother; Hānuxḗakuxípa is his wife. She is also extraordinarily beautiful, for she is a woman. /1149/ Akā́inix also has a number of sisters, all of whom are very grand, clever, and cunning. He himself also proved to all the people that he was a capable yḗkamuš.

"Once the sisters were again playing kī́na in Yā́jaašāga. Old Akā́inix was permitted to enter the large kī́na hut, for he knew all about that secret ceremony of the women. That is why he was admitted. One day his sisters amused themselves by trying to play dead. They decided to hold their breath and not to move for a long time, in imitation of a dead person. They wanted to fool their relatives and frighten them for fun.

"For some time they had been busy with these attempts and exerted themselves to the utmost, but no matter how hard they tried, they could not succeed. One day the girls were again trying these experiments when old Akā́inix approached the kī́na hut. He was the oldest among all his brothers and sisters. When his youngest sister saw him coming, she immediately told the others and said: 'It will be wise to stop our attempts and experiments immediately; our brother is close by and might see what we are doing.' But Akā́inix was already standing inside the kī́na hut. He asked his sisters: 'What are you doing here?' They all replied: 'Nothing special! As usual, we are devoting ourselves to our tasks and our songs in this hut.' Akā́inix replied: 'What you are saying is not true at all. I know very well what you have just been up to; each of you tried to appear completely motionless, as though dead, without breathing for a long time. But you did not succeed as I know very well. Now then, I myself shall show you how to do this properly!' These girls, of course, wanted to dupe all their relatives living in the south and purposely frighten them in order to

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T73 amuse themselves. They were the only ones who had come here from the south and they were taking part in the kĭna in order to ●821 hide their real purpose. Akā́jnix saw through all that and that is why he offered to help his sisters.

"So Akā́jnix lay down on the ground and stretched out full length; he became completely still, soon stopped breathing, and remained motionless, just like a dead person. His sisters watched all this and conceded: 'Truly, our brother can do that very well, he is lying there just like a dead man'' Akā́jnix was, after all, a capable yé̆kamuš.

"The kĭna celebration was over and all the people left the great hut. Each family again turned homeward. Akā́jnix and his sisters also climbed into their canoe. They set out in a southerly direction where their relatives lived. They had to travel several days, for the distance was great. Just before they approached the huts where their relatives were living, they stopped briefly. Akā́jnix stayed behind here; he lay down on the ground, stretched out full length, and pretended he was dead. His wife, Hānuxé̆akuxĭpa, and all his daughters painted /1150/ their entire bodies black, as is done in deep mourning. Thus [prepared] they entered the hut of their relatives. Dismayed, the latter asked immediately: 'Where is Akā́jnix? Why do you come with the painting of mourning?' The girls replied very sadly: 'Our brother just died, not far from here. We left him lying out there, quite near this hut. That is why we put on the painting of mourning!' After these words by the sad girls, a few men immediately got up and went to the place where Akā́jnix lay. They soon brought him back and laid him in their hut. Akā́jnix himself continued to pretend that he was dead. In view of this, the other people prepared for a yamalašemó̆ina. All the relatives gathered, wept loudly, and sang for several days.

"Meanwhile a few amorous men approached the wife of Akā́jnix and his sisters. They began flirting, since these women were exceedingly beautiful. The men fondled them and slept with them. Akā́jnix lay there completely motionless, but he observed very closely what happened. While all this was going on, several days passed. Finally the men became obtrusive and wanted the girls as their wives. They had flirted with them long

[Errata indicates this should read: sisters. —Analyst]

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enough. The wife and sisters of Akā́inix had yielded to everything, for they knew that Akā́inix was not dead and would take full revenge. Those men behaved more and more as though the women already belonged to them as wives.

"Now one day those amorous men set out on the hunt; there was no more meat in the huts. They planned to hunt for cormorants on the nearby cliffs. Their [female] relatives, kímoa and lúrux, sékuš and wípatux, stayed behind with the wife and sisters of Akā́inix.

"When the men were far enough from the hut, Akā́inix got up without being seen and hastened after them. He set out in another direction, however. He reached the cliffs before the men arrived to hunt cormorants. Akā́inix created a commotion among the many birds and frightened them. They flew up in swarms, circled around for some time, and then flew far out over the sea. He hid himself nearby. From afar the men saw how all the birds flew up from the cliffs. They said: 'Doubtless there is a man running around there somewhere, for all the cormorants are rising up, circling in the air, flying up and down, and finally drifting far out to sea. Who could that man be?' Meanwhile they came to the place, but the cormorants were hovering far out over the waves.

"Quite unexpectedly Akā́inix stepped out of his hiding-place and stood before the men. They were terribly startled when they suddenly found themselves face to face with Akā́inix. Immediately they realized what would now happen to them. Akā́inix spoke to them: 'You came here /1151/ to hunt cormorants? All the animals flew away. Only down there not far from the shore are there still a great many standing close together. Don't be afraid to step into the water, it is shallow!' The men obeyed at once, as though they had lost all capacity to think; they were so frightened that they had no idea what they were doing. So they pushed ahead far into the water in order to get quite close to the cormorants. As soon as they were in so far that they could move only with some effort, Akā́inix skillfully used his powerful sling and killed all the men. Thus he avenged himself, his wife, and his sisters.

"Without delay he hastened back to the hut. He did not reveal that he had killed all those men. After a while their

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773 821 relatives asked: 'Why are our men gone such a long time? Did you perhaps see them out there near that cliff?' Akā́inix answered: 'Certainly I saw them. They stepped into the sea in order to reach the cormorants who were swimming far out. Have patience, they will probably soon return!' The women again waited a long time, but the men did not return. After a while they became convinced that Akā́inix himself had murdered all the men. They were overcome with anger and seized with rage. They began to suspect Akā́inix openly and attacked him angrily. This aroused him and he began defending himself violently. Soon there was a terrific struggle between Akā́inix and the men who were present. He was hard pressed because his opponents were numerous. They held him fast, but did not succeed in killing him. For some time they choked him and tried to break his neck, but they did not succeed despite the greatest effort, for he was a mighty yékamuš. They only managed to bend his neck and his long back so far that since then he cannot quite raise himself up straight. Yā́i, the son of Akā́inix, also took part in this struggle and defended his father. The men, therefore, choked him just as they did his father and they also bent his spine. Since then Akā́inix and his son Yā́i (76) have remained deeply bowed and

76. This is the second, pale rainbow which sometimes accompanies the bright one.

curved to this day (77). The relatives of those amorous men whom

[171]

77. This clear mythical motif is also familiar to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609).

Akā́inix murdered, however, also carried off something from that struggle. They soiled themselves with ímí while they were choking Akā́inix, for he was a yékamuš and therefore painted red all over, as is customary for a yékamuš who has died. To this day these birds (78) carry the stain of red color on their feathers."

78. They were not mentioned by name or described in any other way. -- The story assumes conditions after the great upheaval.

773 /1152/ This story was told me by Alfredo while I was sitting all alone with him and there were no women around. In one place in the story the kĭna secret is mentioned, and they strictly keep this from the women. Later the same story, somewhat shortened, was repeated to me by old Mary. She omitted the brief reference to the kĭna celebration. The Yamana designation Akáĭnix obviously corresponds to Akáĭnix of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609), but the latter do not have a separate story about the rainbow. BD:15 gives akaĭnix, "the rainbow" /cited in English/.

E. The Moon-Woman

773 821 The Yamana usually use the name Hánuxa for this mythological person, less often the longer and more specific form Hánuxĕákuxĭpa. She is regarded as the wife of Akáĭnix and as outstandingly beautiful and shapely. Neither women nor men speak of her in friendly terms, least of all the men. Once upon a time the moon-woman had a great influence on all women, and through them on all men as well. Everyone was obliged to yield to her commands and instructions. Her position of power was felt especially with regard to the kĭna secrets of the women. Although at that time Yoálox-tárnuxĭpa had precedence, Hánuxa always had an influential part in the kĭna. She was a malevolent, vicious woman and obviously hostile to all men. To this very day her hatred toward men has not diminished.

My informants did not agree about her children. Old Whaits told me briefly in 1919: "Hánuxa had three sons altogether, who soon died, one after the other (79). Today they stand up there

79. He was referring not to actual death but to a departure from the previous form of existence on this earth and subsequent life on the visible canopy of heaven.

near the lunar orb. None of the present-day Yamana knows her name." Since old Whaits was blind he could not show me the stars he spoke of. The next year I learned from Maŝemikens: "Hánuxa had only one son who, like his mother, was outstandingly

/1152 cont./

773 •821 handsome and shapely. He died very young. In her grief over this great loss Hánuxa made numerous small cuts on her face so that much blood flowed. That is why to this day one sometimes sees her colored red all over, a sign of her sorrow (80). That son

80. Two well-known expressions of mourning are mentioned here, namely, surface cuts in the skin and body painting. The former meant more to the earlier generations than to the Yamana of today.

of hers became a star, no one knows his name."

To my surprise and contrary to the majority of old people, Whaits was of the opinion that Hánuxa caused the great flood. He said: "When Hánuxa is colored red all over, /1153/ she makes it plain that she is once again very angry with human beings (81)

81. This is the exact view of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601).

and again threatens a great flood. That is why all the Yamana become terribly frightened when they see this sign." Others gave the reason previously mentioned for this phenomenon and emphatically declared that the old man was mistaken. They did say, however, that the great flood had actually come in connection with the general upheaval in Yáiaašága and that the moon-woman played a decisive part in it.

Men and women agree that the phases of the moon are the course of her pregnancy: "At first, when Hánuxa is very lean and thin [beginning moon] she conceives a daughter. This child slowly develops in her belly and finally becomes quite big [full moon]. Then the child is born. After that the moon-woman's girth decreases, she becomes constantly leaner, sickly, and weak [waning moon]. Finally she dies and is no longer visible, but then the newborn daughter slowly grows. She, too, conceives, and everything is repeated again, just as in the case of her mother."

Two women explained the phases of the moon somewhat differently to me: "Slowly, like any child, Hánuxa grows very

/1153 cont./

773 slowly. She is still young and therefore small and thin. Gradu-
•821 ally she becomes a full-bodied, adult woman. Then she conceives a daughter whom she carries under her heart [full moon]. After that her strength constantly decreases, and she becomes weaker and weaker [waning moon], in fact so weak finally that she nears the end of her life. Then she gives life to her daughter. Since she is giving birth, she makes herself inaccessible and avoids the glances of human beings. Soon she herself dies, but her daughter begins to live and to grow; she develops exactly like her mother. Sometimes this moon-child Hánuxa-xéolan comes down to earth. No one sees it except the yékamus. They can also hear it when it cries and weeps in its own peculiar way." According to this interpretation the appearance of the new moon is a progressive succession of generations and each moon's change is the development of a mother (82).

[71] 82. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601) have more to say about the moon-woman. Some of their views deviate, others coincide in significant details with what I learned from the Yamana.

The Yamana do not have anything further to say about the children of the parental pair, Akáinix, the rainbow, and Hánuxéakuxípa, the moon-woman, or about their forefathers. They simply say that this couple came here along with the other families during the first immigration from the [illegible]

ʃ. The Deluge

773 Several times reference has been made to a general flood, about which every adult is well informed. This is probably the reason that the reports of several missionaries /1154/ contain casual references to this belief. In Outes (g):54 one reads: "They believe in a period of great tides, and when the waters covered a good part of the country, a box happened to come floating by and stopped on the summit of a high mountain. This box

/1184 cont./

113 among the Yamana, despite all the admiration with which men and women speak of the two brothers and their elder sister.

113 Two stars of the first magnitude are pointed out as the
821 Yoálox brothers, namely, Sirius in the Greater Dog and Procyon in the Lesser Dog. The stars of secondary magnitude close to Sirius are the other members of the Yoálox family, all of whom ascended to the canopy of heaven back in those days. BD:12 gives only iiálux, "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/, and iiálux-dáranakakípa [our tárnuxipa], "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/.

113 From the stories themselves one cannot infer any connec-
116 tion between the Yoálox family and Watayinéjwa; in fact, the two seem to represent quite clearly and sharply distinct spheres of ideas. Several times I asked the Yamana point-blank whether the Yoálox brothers had perhaps been charged by Watayinéjwa to provide for the many well-known arrangements, as well as to instruct human beings in the prevailing rules and customs. They all heard this question with obvious astonishment, and from that I concluded that such a connection between the two lines of thought was not exactly familiar. It is true that from an earlier time I knew that the Yoálox are introduced to the uúwaala in the Ciéxaus (p.767) and to girls on the occasion of their menarche (p.575) as the intermediaries of the prevailing laws and habits of life sent to them by the Supreme Being. They are never mentioned at a funeral rite. In everyday life a person will only now and then speak of them. For example, it is said that Yoálox decreed that berries may not be picked prematurely, but must remain on the stalk until they are ripe (p.327). Accordingly, the intermediary role of the Yoálox is not to be interpreted as a special, definite, formal mission for Watayinéjwa, such as, for example, Temáukel gave the bringer of blessings, Kenós (Vol. I, 572). The situation among the Yamana is somewhat different. Their way of life was actually decisively influenced by the Yoálox, but since, in the final analysis, every law and every custom is derived from Watayinéjwa, the activity of the Yoálox must also be regarded as his command in the broadest sense of the term. To a certain extent this is directly applicable to the regulations pertaining to girls at the menarche and /1185/ women at childbirth.

/1300 cont./

811 superstition in the strictest sense of the word. No one will find this surprising. An attempt to offer an explanation or a reason for the many notions and customs would be tantamount to robbing them of their superstitious character. They simply exist and one acts accordingly. I shall list here the considerable number of superstitious ideas by which our Yamana are governed in individual instances, including a few magical practices. The superstitions mentioned above in the section on the care of infants and children and in connection with the description of the material culture of the Yamana will not be repeated, and the belief in the various groups of spirits and individual fantasy images will not be discussed. A few earlier observers have noted that the Yamana are easily tempted to superstition (263).

811
821 263. Fitz-Roy (a):180 writes, and Darwin (f):I, 123 agrees: "The natives whom I carried to England often amused us by their superstitious ideas, which showed, nevertheless, that their ideas were not limited by the visible world. If any thing was said or done that was wrong, in their opinion it was certain to cause bad weather. Even shooting young birds, before they were able to fly, was thought a heinous offence. I remember York Minster saying one day to Mr. Bynoe, when he had shot some young ducks with the old bird: 'Oh, Mr. Bynoe, very bad to shoot little duck -- come wind -- come rain -- blow -- very much blow'" /cited in English/. Lovisato (b):149 expresses himself in more general terms: "They are superstitious; they fear the wind and perhaps regard the elements in general as vindictive agents" /translated from Italian/. Hyades (q):253 also writes in this vein and asserts (g):387 that the efforts of the Anglican missionaries did not change anything concerning the superstitions of the Yamana: "The superstitions are the same as in former times"

811

/1302 cont./

825 Our Yamana are no less superstitious about birds. Some among the great numbers of them prove to be helpful. They announce things that are important to human beings and warn them. The sea duck deśka (Tachyeres patachonicus) is at times even included in food taboos (p. 503). The mighty condor wëyiyáu (Cathartes aura) is said to lead the dance of the birds. The condor can be dangerous to little children, which is why a mother may never leave her infant unattended. It is said that one day a small child at play crept out of the hut and down to the beach. The child's mother sat at her work in the hut and did not notice it. A condor flew down from above and seized the child with its strong talons, dragging it to the nearest mountain. After a while the mother stepped out of her hut and looked for the child. In vain she searched all the other huts, and no one could give her any information. Everybody helped her look, but they did not find the child. The next day they walked around the whole region, but without success. Nevertheless the mother and her relatives kept on searching. Finally, on the peak of the nearby /1303/ mountain they found the remains of the child, its head and a few bones. It happened that the face was not mutilated and the mother recognized her child. The condor had dragged it off and devoured it because it had been sitting unattended on the beach. The mother wept bitterly and returned to her hut.

825 If a hawk, yo'okalía (Milvago chimango), acts unusually
821 happy and flies about gaily, good weather is on the way. Any-
787 one who is obliged to take a long journey starts out early when he sees this sign; beautiful weather will accompany him. When yo'okalía screams complainingly at night, snow and cold weather are in the offing; both annoy the bird.

825 Quite generally the light-colored horned owl, sítа (Nyctalops
787 accipitrinus), is very carefully watched. If it persistently and anxiously flies around one or more huts standing close together, its cry means that someone in the neighborhood has died. If it lands on a hut, even for a few moments, it indicates that one of the inmates will soon die. When this sítа on its nocturnal flights utters the prolonged, intermittent cry kĭt, kĭt, kĭt... which sounds as though drops of blood were splashing on the

/1303 cont./

825 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate
787 vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sïta circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch
● 821 hëpul (Taeniopiera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron tëwus
787 (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the tëwus is venerated everywhere.

825 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up
821 over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged
777 a Molinas goose tëkuš (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p.503).

825 A solitary sea duck, dëška (Tachyeres patachonicus), fly-
788 ing over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this dëška will take with it the këpïf of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1305/ B. Superstitions in Everyday Life

821 From careful, continuous observation the Yamana are familiar with their natural surroundings. Every unusual phenomenon attracts their attention more or less, and some have occasioned superstitious interpretations. They do not occupy themselves nearly as much or as thoroughly with the heavenly bodies as do the Selk'nam. If an eclipse of the sun or moon occurs, they all pick up some ēlier /fine Berberis shavings/. Amid much shouting, men, women, and children rub their faces with it, as though they were washing and cleansing themselves. They shout and expect the sun or moon to become clean and shining once more. Since they themselves cannot reach that heavenly body, but it must nevertheless be cleaned, they rub their own faces continuously, for, to them, an eclipse of the sun or moon means an unclean, dirty face of that celestial body. They designate an eclipse of the sun (or moon) with lōm (or hēnuna) arugēta, meaning "sun or moon with a dirty, very disorderly, and unclean face" (compare ārugēta in BD:61). Similarly, they designate a star that conspicuously changes its color, or a shooting star and a comet with a visible tail, as apēnis ārugēta, "a star that is in disorder." If there is a ring around the moon and an opening in the ring at one point of the compass, they expect bad weather from this direction for the next few days. Children may not stare at a full moon for any length of time. The Yamana believe that while the child is gazing steadily at the moon it will see the moon's large mouth and invariably call out: "You, moon, open your mouth!" This would result in the child's soon becoming ill. The Yamana, too, see an entire face, with eyes and mouth, in the disk of the full moon.

Our Indians, of course, are also attentively concerned about the weather. If a number of people are traveling in their canoe and they eat something, they may not throw refuse and food remains into the water, for this would immediately cause high waves or storm. The remains are carefully burned in the canoe fire.

821 When a child is born, the Yamana notice whether there is 769 good or bad weather. A child born in good weather has prospects of a happy life; above all he is capable of stopping bad weather.

/1305 cont./

821 789 If a few families are detained in an inlet because of storms and showers and are prevented from traveling on, they paint a club, a spear shaft, or an oar with red earth, accompany the "fair-weather child" to the beach, and give it the painted article, telling it to beat the sea with it and ask for favorable weather. If the child acts shy or ashamed, or if it is too young to do this, the father takes the child in his arms and sets it upright against his legs. He himself then recites the particular words /1306/ and administers the blows against the sea, making the child's arms help him a bit. It is absolutely necessary that the object used for beating be painted. The words addressed to the bad weather are to the effect that it should go away quickly, cease bothering people, and make way for good weather. A request is even sent up to Wateginéwa that he change the weather situation as soon as possible, for after all he is responsible for unfavorable weather. For example, they say:

wéla	motagégo	hamdno	yelogégu
At once	to come to the beach	snowfall	good-weather

pégio,	sigéjo	hatégo	ísi.
child	set off	from here	you.

This is to say: "In order that you, bad weather, shall immediately go away from here, a privileged fair-weather child has come down to the beach and is beating you." Meanwhile the child stretches out its arms and reaches out into space as though it were grasping the clouds, tearing the fog asunder, and pushing back showers of rain. At the same time it utters forceful, hissing ts sounds. These efforts serve the purpose of quickly driving away the bad weather. The words used are clothed in a definite formula; an adult tells it to the child who repeats it several times while it beats the water.

821 A child born when the weather is unfavorable or when there are heavy storms arouses a slight uneasiness among people in the neighborhood as a result of this fact alone. They never forget this coincidence and in later years tell the child himself about it. Such a child must be reserved and moderate in its behavior when

/1306 cont./

821 the weather is calm and there is bright sunshine. The Fuegians generally hope that the good weather, which in any case is scarce, will last for a short time once it has set in, especially the warm quiet days. For this reason a "bad-weather child" must avoid noisy conduct along the beach, running gaily along the edge of the water, throwing stones into the sea, beating the waves with a stick or paddle, or dropping an object and letting it strike hard on the ground. To violate these rules would soon bring a change of weather. The adults do not fail to watch a "bad-weather child" carefully and to admonish it to behave cautiously. If a strong headwind and high waves make it im-

821 789 possible for a family to travel on, the wife will try a ceremony of her own to remove these obstacles. She rubs one of her daughters who is not yet five years old from head to foot with imi, accompanies her down to the beach, pushes her into the water several times and ducks her repeatedly. The woman continues this procedure until her small daughter grows tired of it and begins to cry and scream. Only then does she release her daughter who, /1307/ yelling loudly, rushes out of the water to warm herself at the hut fire. The mother, however, stays on the beach a bit longer and addresses the following lament to the sea:

Yelajáge	xéolan	sigála	wéla	tumúru
Fair-weather	child	set off	immediately	have pity

lkamána.
snowfall.

In other words: "You, bad weather, have pity on that 'fair-weather child' and set off immediately, taking with you this abundant snowfall." With this act, especially the ducking, the mother pretends that her child is drowning in the sea because of the bad weather.

The winter of mid-1923 was unusually severe and brought with it a great deal of snow. I was staying on Navarino Island, and the Indians often complained to me about the burden of the large masses of snow. One day they again tried an ancient ceremony which serves to ward it off. Near the huts two men erected

/1307 cont./

•821
789

a snow figure resembling a human being. It was about 120 centimeters high, very clumsy and irregular, the kind of snowman that school children in Europe fashion without any care. The head, body, and arms were merely suggested on the figure and very inaccurately fashioned. The men made it in a few minutes. Meanwhile several children and a few adults had assembled in front of it. As soon as the two men declared their clumsy structure finished, everybody gathered in front of it at a distance of about five meters and pelted it with stones, logs, clubs, and spears, in a spirit of savage destruction, until the wobbly structure was completely torn apart and lay there as a chaotic pile of snow. The excited, wild behavior is supposed to make clear to "winter," who is believed to be embodied in this figure, how displeased, indeed embittered, everybody is with him and that he should take himself off as soon as possible. They anticipate prompt success with this ceremony which has been handed down by their forefathers, and they resort to it several times during the cold season (264).

264. As early as 1865 Bridges observed the same thing: "The Fuegians, to drive such unpleasant weather away, build a figure of the snow, in shape somewhat like a man, and throw spears into it, and demolish it with paddles" /cited in English/ (VSA:XII, 6:1865). -- The Selk'nam also try to change the weather by means of a certain magical custom, in which a so-called "bad-weather child" and a "fair-weather child" play the chief roles (Vol. I, 684).

[171]

Bridges reported another custom which is also of the type of genuine magic-by-analogy; I myself did not come across it. On a stormy day "all men were disguised with paint and charcoal. The men came along, many armed with clubs. One man, Lasapowloom, a vigorous, active young fellow, acted the champion and challenger, and stood prominently forward to meet the foremost and most excited of the opposite party. Like the man

/1397 cont./

821 789 who confronted him, he had a broad band of white from his chin downward, and his head was bound with the skin of a kelp gander with white down on it, and his hair was also whitened. He had a white stone in either hand. His antagonist, who came leaping along making much noise, was /1398/ armed with a club. He kept on demanding what facasi [a term for seals, penguins, and other sea birds] would let him kill some one, as though he thirsted for blood. He held his club ready to use it, and they both spoke excitedly and loudly to each other. Presently Lasapowloom threw one of his stones a full yard behind his opponent's heels, and ran after his stone to pick it up again. Presently looking to where I heard much noise I saw two others, highly painted fellows, engaged in loud vociferations and earnest gestures, each with an arm round the other's neck, and bobbing their heads each to the other. The rest stood quietly looking on.... Lasapowloom acting the part he did, was according to custom, called tworoo, or the storm of wind; the man who met him was called tumoosworoo, or one who invited the storm to rage against him" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 13:1878).

I cannot help thinking that the superstitious customs and ceremonies aimed at influencing the weather in favor of personal wishes and intentions have developed among the Yamana only to a limited extent simply because their Watagin[illegible]wa is regarded as the actual ruler of the forces of nature. Hence everyone turns directly to him as the first and surest helper, using the ancient traditional prayer formulas (p.978).

262 824 In addition, there are a few similar superstitious customs which are clearly wise food taboos. They are supposed to promote self-control and check selfishness. A few such decrees have already been mentioned. Thus, for example, no one may pick Pernettya berries until they are ripe. If anyone should ignore this, the "berries would go away" (p.327). Anyone who gathers amijm at the proper time may nibble a few, but anyone who eats many of them brings on bad weather by his lack of restraint in eating. It is easy to catch this disobedient person, and he is severely reproached in case there is a sudden change in the weather. The primary object of this taboo is probably to force each individual to bring all the berries he has gathered into camp

/1308 cont./

262 and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them
824 alone. People from another region who land on strange territory
•[821] and find large quantities of amáim may neither pick them nor
eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening
weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the
berries would portend ínaʔiwa, ruin and destruction for them.

The "rain berry," palaxáʔix, Ribes gracilee (p.279), may
262 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot
824 where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to
821 gather them, he must first obtain permission from the tóqins who
has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person
who picks the palaxáʔix without such permission or in /1308/
rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with
rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement,
hínoʔi, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1923, there was an
unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few
girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many
palaxáʔix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino --
and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the
evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had
gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar
with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries.
The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a
punishment for this.

It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out
262 over the wide inlets open to the south. In this region it is cus-
tomary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught
on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A
person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy
loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to
teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a fam-
ily is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and
they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were
not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

264 The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if
521 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food
484 remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire
which is always kept burning. It is said that Yoʔlax decreed this.

/1309 cont./

264 When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as
821 incessantly as did the child of Yaffing (p. 1140). Moreover,
other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather.
Spencer.87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will
paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face.
This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in Eng-
lish/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants,
but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if some-
one pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

823 Moreover, the Yamana are still imprisoned in a realm of
superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are
first of all the places that the Lakéma like to inhabit. "No one
should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Be-
sides the Lakéma and the malevolent Hagélis, certain animals
who are in contact with the yékamuš make a place dangerous for
human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yékamuš warn people
about these places, for they know from their dreams what the
situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account.
A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels un-
well, he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep.
/1310/ He is lost if a yékamuš is not called in time to free him
from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21,
1913, Whaim told the following story. "In Lapothia there is a
fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men
had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men
began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the
heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men
stood astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported:
"A certain Sinenanjin had made up his mind to settle out at a
beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he
went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends.
These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at
hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry,
whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not-
and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying
sapiccoush, sapiccoush, which means bloody arrow head. They
forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal
spot" /cited in English/ (MM:XIII, 80; 1878).

/1421 cont./
X756 to make him well! Give the sick man courage and give him back
755 his health, for my sake!" Obviously the yékamuš is sincere when he addresses these words and other ancient prayer formulas to Watauinéiwa so that the sick person will be quickly cured. The yékamuš, however, is also impelled by ambition; since he wants to prove his ability to the people by any means, he even calls on Watauinéiwa for help and relies on his favorable relations with him. If a few members of the same family have died in quick succession, it may happen that a friendly yékamuš will say to the survivors: "That yékamuš [he designates him by name] has caused these deaths!" It is a universal belief that only Watauinéiwa can cause a person to die. In the case just mentioned the people will complain to Watauinéiwa; they will accuse him of being in collusion with that yékamuš and of acting with him. They will say, for instance: "Hitapúan, why did you join that yékamuš and, with him, kill our relatives?" This is a cry from a heart tormented by grief and is similar to the well-known cries of mourning (p. 989).

β. General Assistance

X756 The individual Yamana, as well as the independent family
789 groups, will turn to a friendly yékamuš in all kinds of daily dis-
● 821 tress. Although I often heard, "Hidáuan causes bad weather, Hidáuan sends the heavy snow and the bad storms!" nevertheless the Yamana also attribute to their yékamuš a definite influence on the weather (333). Who would not like to have calm, clear,

> 333. Bridges (i):18 and (k):237 asserted in his day that the medicine men "had power to procure good weather and drive away bad" /cited in English/.

and warm weather down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago? In winter the families like to crowd their dwellings together so that a few yékamuš are together for a longer period. If on occasion heavy snowstorms continue and the people become sad, the yékamuš will promise them: "Be quiet and remain brave, tomorrow [or the

/1421 cont./

day after tomorrow] favorable weather will set in!" The children, above all, become quiet, and the old people are full of expectation. Sure enough, on the day announced the snowstorm at least abates and perhaps there is even a cloudless sky. /1422/ Once on a rainy day I also heard: "Tomorrow uxápu [the constellation Orion, p. 1276 /untranslated/] will appear!" On another winter's day a yékamuš assured the people: "Tomorrow we shall see Yoálox-tárnuxipa again and that will usher in good weather!" Sure enough, each time the prognostication was fulfilled. The question is whether those yékamuš were guided by knowledge derived from experience and careful observation? I cannot decide. In any case, the people ascribe the change of weather to the superior knowledge and ability of the yékamuš. As is known, a number of medicine men gather together in the lóima-yékamuš. Since they jointly exert their influence on the forces of nature, the people say that favorable weather prevails for the duration of that affair.

When there are persistent storms, the people are hindered in their freedom of movement and sometimes suffer great privation. Then the yékamuš must save them by furnishing food. He lies down to sleep, starts his čōwánni song, and thus invokes the čōwánni spirits. The latter have whole swarms of herring with them and these, of course, are accompanied by many other species of animals. They soon cover the beach near the people in distress. In the same way the čōwánni spirits drive many round crabs (Lithodes antarctica, Fig. 13 /in untranslated portion/) up on the beach or cause many birds to light on nearby stones. The yékamuš also uses another helper. In his dream he calls an ašóula to him and describes to it the threatening situation of his family group. Thus prevailed upon, the ašóula returns to its region, and from there on the next day it leads a whale with its accompanying animals to the stricken group (p. 1268 /untranslated/). As soon as the people see the many animals, they rejoice and thank their yékamuš for this rescue; he finally releases the helpful spirits with his čōwánni song, and they once more retire far out on the high seas. If the men plan a joint hunting expedition the following day, the yékamuš assemble the day before and start the čōwánni song. This is supposed to assure them the help of these spirits on the following day and at the same time guarantee the

/1434 cont./

X 756 166 and the hut is set on fire (341). The many people who have

341. Despard (b):717 maintains: "When yaccomosh dies, his body is burned to ashes, and those ashes thrown to the winds he rules so mightily, for them to make sport withal" /cited in English/. The last part of this statement is incorrect.

assembled throw all kinds of objects into the fire, whatever they can lay their hands on. They do this in honor of the deceased (p. 1056). Since in recent times even medicine men are buried, the people see to it that his face is turned upward. The community of souls of all deceased yékamuš and of people who have drowned is regarded as the actual ūlulufáala. This term, which also has a general meaning (p. 1042), is related to ūlūuf in BD:91. These souls move toward the east where they dwell (342). At

• [821] 342. Bridges (i):19 writes that "shooting stars were spoken of as the dead wizards of their people" /cited in English/. I did not encounter this belief. It is well known that the Selk'nam regard shooting stars as the "play of the medicine men" (Vol. I, 680).

night they sometimes return to their homes and every living medicine man can see them. Nelly Lawrence said in all seriousness: "Since our késpiš like to travel to the east when we dream at night or are dreamily brooding during the day, the yékamuš must sing /1435/ and soon bring back the késpiš, or they would be lost in that distant region where the késpiš of dead yékamuš actually dwell." All this shows the unique position of the medicine men, even though they cannot be noticeably distinguished from their countrymen in everyday life, but conform to tribal tradition as true Yamana.

X 756 182 If one examines the meaning and nature of the medicine-man system, its uniqueness becomes apparent. It does not correspond either to the natural disposition of our Yamana or to the

/1449 cont./

805 aua̯čix málaku, the fungi lying on the moist forest floor are turning black and beginning to rot.
824

/1450/ The development of Cyttaria darwinii described above takes place from the beginning of December to the end of February. The growing period of the smaller Cyttaria harioti, ašim (p. 277), also serves to determine time.

maxinix is the name of this tiny fungus when it appears in January.

kētē̯na is its name as long as its surface is still smooth at maximum size.

kētē̯na āšex is the fallen, decayed fungus. This development takes place from January to the end of April. The Yamana refer in the same way to the various stages of development of the large tree fungus, āman, and divide up the first half of winter accordingly.

805 As is evident, the Yamana have a number of time designations, each of which is connected with phenomena in their immediate environment. Besides the expressions just mentioned, one also hears the following: "I'll come back when the first green shoots appear, -- when the young šūrša crawl out of their shells, -- when the kimoa are ready to fly, -- when the red beech leaves fall, -- when the water [in the channel] becomes brown (355), -- when the mussels are poor" (356). These

355. Actually, only the algae change color in the spring; the Yamana expression makes it appear as though the water changed color.

356. This means departing winter.

expressions are simple and perfectly clear to everyone.

3. Astonomy

•821 The appearance and disappearance of a number of stars and their highest and lowest positions likewise characterize the individual periods in the yearly cycle. In former times, before

/1450 cont./

•824 there were actual people, all the stars, whether or not they are now known by name, were independent personalities on this earth. Special myths are devoted to some of them. It is a fact that some individuals among the Yamana, especially certain yékamuš of former times, were well acquainted with the peculiarities and movements of the stars and informed their countrymen about them. Most recently, during my stay in Tierra del Fuego, I often stood outside with a few old people on a clear, starry night in order to learn something definite from them about the stars, but their knowledge was surprisingly deficient. To their sorrow, these persons confessed that many details had been lost to them since they had adopted the European way of speaking.

The irregular juxtaposition of a few stars is regarded as a family group, in which the larger stars are the adults and the smaller ones the children. The dense clusters of small stars are regarded as a mass of amáim, berries. Girls like to stretch out their arms as though reaching for them, and they then gesture as though they were scattering a handful of them about. In doing so, they promise themselves an abundant harvest of amáim. The constellation uxápu, the belt of Orion /1451/ (p. 1276 /untranslated/), is particularly bright in midwinter. As long as it is visible one may neither split wood nor make a loud noise. Nor may one at this time carry a glowing stick of wood uncovered; it must be wrapped in a piece of bark. Next to it is háiaxípa, Rigel. Aldebaran, α Tauri, is called Yoálox-támuxípa. The two recognizable nebulae, húmuluf, are described as pockets of the Yoálox brothers, who keep all kinds of things in them and keep sharp watch over them. The bright, reddish Betelgeuse, α Orionis, is Mákuxípa, which, as a star, is generally called Lúškipa, the first wife of the two Yoálox brothers (p. 1135). The Milky Way, hésteka túawina, has the same meaning in the canopy of heaven as a wide, painted post that is used in the framework of the čiéxaus hut (p. 679). A few Yamana deduce the direction the wind is expected to take from the brightness of the stars. A closed ring around the sun is regarded as a sign of good weather; if it is open in one spot, there will be strong winds from that direction.

Our Fuegians, of course, observe the striking progressive changes of the moon, and they have special terms for its individual

/1451 cont./

821 phases. Thus, hánuxa tajyígata is the full moon; akušdára, the completely invisible new moon; yárum hánuxa, the waxing moon; and, finally, hánuxa héaku, the waning moon. The word héaku is probably the same as hakū, "another, the other" /cited in English/, in BD:262. There are also other designations in BD for the phases of the moon. The Yamana like to measure [805] time by the whole course of the moon. For example, someone will say: "Yárum hánuxa kūtia-mus har-t-haináa, I shall come again at the new moon" (357).

357. Hyades (p):340 and Spegazzini (a):169 also briefly referred to the various designations of time used by the Yamana.

As a result of their nomadic life, our Yamana are obliged to observe carefully the extremely changeable weather of their country and to interpret reliably every peculiar phenomenon. In the course of long experience they have attained positive mastery in this, and one can absolutely rely on their opinion. In their observations they usually take two or three phenomena into account at once, not least the behavior of animals. Nevertheless, a family will sometimes be overtaken by a sudden change in the weather and their lives endangered. The Yamana certainly do not lack expressions for individual aspects of the weather. Thunder, kikíka, is almost never heard in that region; our Fuegians have no definite explanation for it or for lightning (p. 21 /untranslated/) which is just as rare.

4. Geographical Knowledge

823 On their constant trips through the tortuous channels of the Cape Horn Archipelago our Yamana are confidently sure of themselves because they have a well developed sense of orientation to the quarters of the heavens. They have a wide choice of terms for them. /1452/ The basic terms are: ílu, íla, "the south, southward"; ítu íta, "east, in an easterly direction";